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New Republic

AFTER THE DELUGE

IMPACT OF THE ELECTION ON THE FAIR DEAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

KOREA: WILL CHINA FIGHT THE UN?

AN EDITORIAL

HITLER'S GHOST WALKS

By A. POWELL DAVIES

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:
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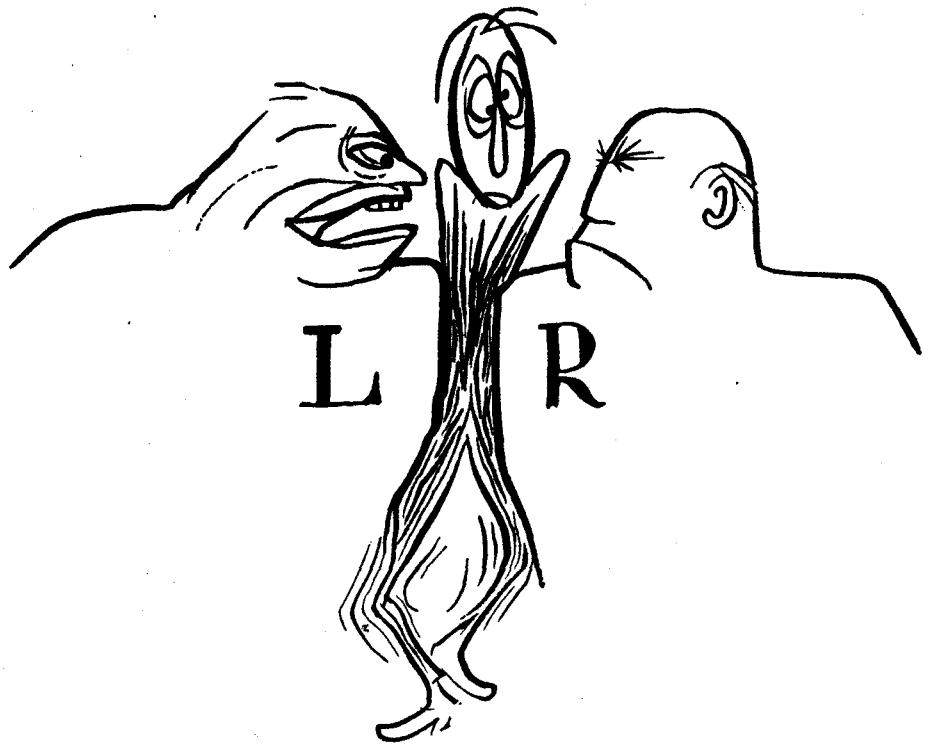

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 21, ISSUE 1877, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 20, 1950 **New Republic**

KOREA: WILL CHINA FIGHT THE UN?

TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS arise from the intervention in Korea by six divisions of well-armed "volunteers" from the Peoples Democratic Republic of China. Firstly, will the war extend beyond the Yalu and Tumen rivers and expand into a general war? Secondly, what action should be taken by the United Nations?

The question of whether the entry of Red China into the Korean War may lead to a general war must be examined from the point of view of the Soviet and Chinese leaders, from the manner and timing of the intervention, and from the geographical conditions and military situation in the Far East.

From the Soviet point of view the Far East is a strategic rear. Korea represented the only land boundary in the Far East between the West and the Soviet Union. The United States had announced that it was not defensible in case of a general war. The South Koreans had organized with American assistance 15 infantry regiments intended primarily as internal security troops. Nothing could have looked safer politically or easier militarily than the conquest of South Korea.

American intervention with United Nations support was a great shock to the Soviet oligarchy. What was intended as a minor clean-up developed instead into the build-up of huge Western forces in the Far East. The Western world was awakened to the magnitude of its commitments and started arming in earnest. For the Soviet regime, Korea turned out to be another major political blunder. Face could only be preserved by preserving some semblance of a North Korean Government. The object of Chinese intervention probably means no more than this—that as a minimum some North Korean territory must be held.

Fanciful explanations have been given by various experts about the object of Chinese intervention. One such is that it was to protect the electric power installations along the Yalu. This obviously is not a consideration since these can be destroyed by bombing at any time.

Another explanation of doubtful validity is that the Soviet Union is acting through the Chinese Reds and the North Koreans to tie down large American forces in Korea just as the Communist revolts in French Indo-China and in Malaya have required the diversion of French and British forces in these areas. This is equally unsatisfactory. It is true that American and other United Nations forces will continue to be required in Korea. But from the Soviet point of view the United States and the Western world is being immensely strengthened by its awakening to the aggressive intentions of Communism. The United States has committed 250,000 men of all services to action in Korea, but at the same time it is increasing its armed forces from one and one half millions to three millions and is hastening the rearmament of Europe from a ten-year schedule to a three-year plan. The result is such a substantial increase in Western military power that the forces held in Korea are of secondary importance from the Soviet point of view.

The manner of the Chinese intervention, that is through the use of "volunteers," indicates that neither the Soviet Union nor Communist China desires full-scale war. By maintaining the fiction of "volunteers" the governments presumably are not involved. If the venture is unsuccessful it can be written off as in Spain and Greece. If successful the benefits will be just as great as if the intervention had been official.

There is no mystery about the timing of Chinese intervention. Military action involving large numbers of troops cannot be commenced without long preparation. Until the American landing at Inchon the North Koreans appeared to be in no need of assistance. Consequently, it is probable that preparations in Manchuria did not commence until after the obvious disintegration of North Korean forces in the first week after the landing. It was three weeks after this that the first Chinese troops crossed the border. This fact, together with the unofficial nature of the Chinese action, tends to verify the thesis that the object is to preserve some Communist territory in North Korea. If this is the object, and if the US continues to act in Korea solely with UN authorization, it is hardly credible that a general war may follow from continued forceful UN action.

Considered geographically it is almost impossible to start a general war over Korea. The United Nations forces assuredly will not attack China or the Soviet Union. And China is unable to attack any of the United Na-

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tions having forces in Korea except the British at Hongkong. The Soviet Union does not even have "volunteers" in Korea and has confined its activity to its military mission, the provision of armament and support of North Korea in the United Nations. Its major action in Korea is being taken through a third state, China. This hardly is the policy that would be pursued if the Soviet Union were willing to risk a general war.

It is curious how the United States and the Western powers dance the jitters to the Soviet tune. The British want the United Nations forces held back from the Manchurian frontier lest it cause a war with China (meaning that Britain fears a Chinese assault on Hongkong). The French fear that their rearmament may be affected.

The United States press is filled with stories about the "well-trained, battle-hardened Chinese Communist soldiers." This last needs examination. The Chinese soldiers are neither battle-hardened nor well-trained, nor well-armed from the Western point of view. Chiang Kai-shek's armies disintegrated from internal weakness, not from defeat in battle. The Chinese Communists did little fighting against the Japanese. The Japanese, with only second line troops in China, moved at will scattering the Chinese forces, both Nationalist and Communist, before them. It might be recalled when the United States built at great expense airdromes in central China from which to bomb Japan that the Japanese armies overran them before they could be used. It is time to stop shivering about the Red Chinese armies and get on with the business we have started, the unification and stabilization of the United Nations sponsored Republic of Korea.

In the hope of reaching an agreement with the Chinese Communists the United Nations Interim Committee on Korea on November 7 declared in effect that the Manchurian-Korean border would be respected by the United Nations forces. This position is tenable only if it yields some response. If the Chinese continue to defy the UN their defiance cannot be ignored. Is the United Nations commander to be forced to fight Manchurian-based aviation only after it has crossed the border? Will he be deprived of the right to attack the nests from which it comes and the supply dumps and communications from which reinforcements and munitions are flowing south? Have we forgotten that the same issue arose over the 38th parallel?

War with China certainly would be a disaster for the West. Yet war cannot be averted by conceding to illegal aggression. If China continues to fight the UN in Korea, the UN will be forced to announce that the United Nations commander has full authority to take all action necessary to stabilize the situation if Chinese Communist forces continue to flood into Korea.

AFTER THE DELUGE

THE WORLD of 1950 is a harsh world, demanding blood and sweat and tears. Inspired men alone will vote for hardships, and in 1950 there was little inspiration. The union leaders spent more money than ever before in registering their members and leading them to the polls. For what clear purpose? The President on election eve asked workers and farmers to vote according to their bulging pocketbooks. Instead they voted according to their fears.

It was a false campaign and it yielded a false return. The return is hailed as the end of the Fair Deal and the beginning of a new foreign policy. Neither assertion bears close scrutiny.

The Fair Deal in its social reform aspects was checked on July 25 when South Korea was invaded, and not on November 7. On that day the issues changed as they changed when Hitler's armies rolled into Prague.

July 25, and not election day, was the turning point in our foreign policy. The great programs of European reconstruction which Taft and his colleagues harried and undermined were close to conclusion. The new program of reconstruction in Asia had never won the support of the White House or the Department of State. No issue of negotiating or not negotiating with Soviet Russia arose in 1950. No policy could be more anti-Soviet in Germany and Western Europe than Secretary Acheson's own policy, save an outright policy of preventive war. In the Far East an issue arose early in 1950 between self-restraint and reckless war mongering in dealing with Communist China. Yet it diminished as the year wore on. The Sino-Soviet treaty, and the tightening up of the Communist regime led to a hardening of State Department policy until it was indistinguishable from that of responsible Republican leaders. Even on the issue of an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek the President and MacArthur were able to move closer together as the Chinese Communists gave increasing aid to the North Koreans.

The future status of Formosa has been placed before the United Nations and is not for the United States to

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decide. The future of Chiang Kai-shek is largely a military matter. The problem is less a political problem of supporting a beaten and discredited dictator, than a strategic one of using vitally needed weapons, food and clothing to equip and maintain the army with the worst combat record in the entire non-Communist world.

The real issue in 1950 is not between Democrats and Republicans, or liberalism and conservatism. It is between responsibility and irresponsibility.

The victors on November 7 painted the world of 1950 as a simple place. High taxes, high prices, threats of war harassed the voters—all these could be done away with—so they said—by a flip of the lever in the polling booth. High taxes were caused not by war and aggression but by the Democrats reckless extravagance. The Korean War was the creation not of Stalin but of Truman, just as Roosevelt, not Hitler, caused the Second World War. The new burdens of rearmament were the high price we pay, not for peace, but for Dean Acheson. The Communists were winning Asia, not because of Asia's intolerable misery, and the moral bankruptcy of our allies, but thanks to a little band of Communist perverts in the State Department whom the victors of 1950 would soon shoo away. Vote for the irresponsibles and taxes would tumble; insecurity would slink away; the USSR would evaporate into thin air.

Now the election is over, and the realities of 1950 remain: Government expenditures of $70 billion a year; revenues of $41 billion, a $ gap that inflation, or new taxes must fill; a universal military service bill to meet pressing manpower needs; enforced expansion of capacity, or rigid controls; bold and costly action overseas, coupled with self-discipline, increased hardship and risks for every voter as we skirt the rim of a third World War.

The obvious way out for the irresponsible who won in 1950 is to continue to be irresponsible: to demand Acheson's head on a plate as Stassen has demanded it; to cry that until the Communists are cleaned out of Washington by a Republican President, nothing can be done; to go on shouting *Alger Hiss!* in preparation for a Grand Finale in 1952, while prices mount, deficits rise, tenants are evicted, strikes develop and our country fails to carry out its tasks as leader of the free nations. If the dangers were not so clear we could afford to ask: Who were the winners and the losers in 1950, those who went down fighting for a realistic program, or those who will sail into Washington on McCarthy's spider's web?

THE WEEK

McCARTHY WINS

The Republican Party, under the leadership of Joe McCarthy, pinned the phony charge of "Communism, Confusion and Corruption" on the Democrats and made it stick. GOP candidates in every important Senatorial and gubernatorial election hewed to this central line. Their Democratic opponents, with no national platform or leadership, were largely forced into individual defensive actions. The voters, apparently insecure and uncertain in spite of the present prosperity, expressed their dissatisfaction with world conditions by voting against the "ins."

Democratic candidates in Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York suffered from far-fetched identification with corruption in local government. Administration Senatorial candidates in California, Utah and Colorado in particular fell under the Communism smear perfected earlier in Florida and North Carolina. Everywhere, the GOP ranted about "confusion" in the Government until the public seemingly believed that some other administration could have kept the threat of war further away.

The Democratic Party offered no such set of solid issues as President Truman personally took to the country in 1948. For a while last spring it seemed that the Administration intended to overcome the greatest problem of off-year elections—lack of a national platform—when it held regional party conferences to discuss ways of advancing the Fair Deal. Conservative powers in the party, such as Senators Scott Lucas and Clinton Anderson, stopped that development, however, before it could grow into the mid-term version of a national party convention that was needed to unify the campaign. For lack of a central positive theme, individual Democrats fell before a unified Republican assault. The Democratic Party and the unions, intent on the important job of precinct organization, have both failed to carry on the kind of basic voter education between elections that produces intelligent, independent thinking on election day.

With the Democratic majority reduced to 2 in the Senate and 34 in the House, it will be easier than before for the coalition of reactionaries from the South and the GOP to block whatever Truman proposes. The South will dominate committee chairmanships in the new Congress. The East will have none at all in the Senate, and only three in the House. Many of the most courageous members in pressing fights inside the committees and on the floor will not return in January. Much of what progressive legislation was passed last year squeaked through because determined liberals like John Carroll (Colo.), Helen Douglas (Calif.) and Andrew Biemiller (Wis.) would not give up. They, and many of their kind, will not be here to lead next year.

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"MR. REPUBLICAN"

"Be patient if we seem like overwrought children," a broadly-smiling middle-aged matron said to a man who was attending his first election party in the spacious offices of Hulbert Taft, publisher of the Cincinnati *Times-Star*. "If you knew how many damned wakes we've attended here, you'd understand." Ecstatic, but incredulous, professional and personal friends of Robert A. Taft milled through the rooms, grinned, drank Scotch and bourbon highballs and returned every few minutes to the television set in the private office for reassurance. The unbelievable was happening. Sen. Robert A. Taft, the man with the minus-quantity political sex-appeal, was piling up votes the way Roosevelt did in 1936. Actually, when all the votes were counted, the Republican incumbent had 430,000 more than his Democratic opponent, Joseph T. Ferguson—the greatest edge ever given a Senatorial candidate in the history of the state.

Politically, organized labor never looked worse. "Mr. Republican" was their number one target in the nation and the CIO, AFL and the Railway Brotherhoods had joined forces to defeat him. They carried out the most successful registration campaign Ohio has ever seen, but a huge block of rank-and-file union members obviously marked their ballots for the co-author of the Taft-Hartley bill.

A number of factors which brought about Taft's success were noted but either mis-interpreted or under-evaluated by pre-election observers. Even Republican leaders felt that the outbreak of the Korean War placed Taft, with his fuzzy ideas on foreign policy, in a difficult position. It now seems likely that the political bromide in farm centers, "Nothing like a long spell of bad weather to unseat a Congressman," may apply. The emotional response to unending crisis, death and hopelessly involved complications can be a powerful desire to club the "ins." Also, to judge from the vote in centers where organized labor is strong, union leaders either failed to present adequately the reasons for supporting Ferguson or they made the blunder of seeming to order the membership in the marking of their ballots. There were several high-handed letters from labor brass to the privates reported in the papers.

A third element undoubtedly was the resentment that Democratic leaders felt for the union heads who took over the campaign.

DOUGLAS DEFEATED

The Democrats in California lost a Senator and a member of the House, able Cecil White. This state which has a three to two Democratic advantage in registrations over the Republicans now has a Republican Governor, two Republican Senators, and a House delegation precisely split between the major parties.

Saddest blow to liberals was the defeat of Helen Gahagan Douglas, running for the Senate seat vacated by the veteran Sheridan Downey. The victor was Rep. Richard Nixon whose greatest previous claim to fame was turning up the Hiss case as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Nixon told his associates from the first that he intended to use the Red issue against Mrs. Douglas, noting its success in primaries in which such liberals as Claude Pepper and Frank Graham had been defeated in Florida and North Carolina. He and his followers based their entire campaign on drawing a parallel between the votes of Mrs. Douglas and Vito Marcantonio on such measures as the Greek-Turkish military-aid bill and the Mundt-Nixon-Woods - Ferguson *Communist - control* bill. But what really defeated Mrs. Douglas was the extraordinarily poor showing of her running-mate, James Roosevelt, in his campaign against the ever-popular Earl Warren for the governorship. Warren succeeded in rolling up a mighty vote, more than a million greater than that of Roosevelt.

NEW YORK STANDS PAT

New Yorkers split their ballots to stand pat. They re-elected Governor Dewey (Republican) as Governor; re-elected Senator Lehman (Democrat-Liberal) as Senator; retained Acting-Mayor Impellitteri (Experience) as Mayor.

All three results have long-range consequences. Dewey's victory puts him back in the running for President; Lehman's victory indicates that New York is still Fair Dealish in national affairs. The Impellitteri victory means a re-shuffle within the Democratic Party.

The last of these might be the most interesting and eventful for New York liberals. To the great body of voters, the Impellitteri candidacy was a race against the "bosses," an expression of disgust with city politics in general. To the professional politicos, however, the Impellitteri victory was Farley's chance to make a comeback. The ex-Postmaster has already called for an overhauling of the Democratic Party.

A further explanation of the unprecedented victory of an "independent" candidate in New York City is offered in terms of a "deal" between Dewey and Impellitteri, in which the Governor cut his Republican candidate for Mayor, Ed Corsi (who polled 382,795 in the city against Dewey's 1,118,999) in exchange for Impellitteri's cutting Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Lynch. The New York *Herald Tribune* reported from Republican headquarters for instance that "they cheered the Lynch concession and they also cheered that Mr. Corsi, Republican candidate for Mayor, had conceded to Mr. Impellitteri." There is the belief that this Dewey-Impellitteri coalition may continue after the election along the lines of the Dewey-O'Dwyer entente existing in New York City and State since 1945.

ILLINOIS SHUNS BOSSISM

CHICAGO (NR Correspondent)

The Chicago *Tribune's* Bertie McCormick now has his own personal representative in the US Senate, Illinois Republican Everett M. Dirksen who defeated Democratic Majority Leader Scott Lucas. A mid-West isolationist, Dirksen echoed the *Tribune* editorials against the Marshall Plan, against labor, against the Administration's foreign policy. He ranted about the "Socialistic and Communistic tendencies" of the Truman Administration, the "terrible

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blunders" and "faulty preparations" on the Korean front. While he was open to criticism for shifting sides on important issues in the past (the Chicago *Sun-Times* pointed out that he changed his mind 31 times in matters relating to national military preparations), Dirksen left no one in doubt about where he stands today. Lucas, who during the last session also changed sides on several issues, fought a defensive campaign. He broke from the Administration on such issues as the Brannan farm plan and national health insurance. He had guided the McCarran Communist-control bill safely through Congress and opposed the President's veto. He lost support of many liberal Democrats in the process.

Illinois political observers attribute Dirksen's victory in part to the Democrats' selection of Capt. Daniel A. Gilbert, who boasts that he is the "world's richest policeman," for sheriff. Gilbert's name had recently been connected with the crime-political alliances uncovered by the Kefauver investigation. He claimed that grain-market speculations provided the $300,000 balance found in his bank account. Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) had warned that Gilbert's name on the Democratic ticket would hurt Lucas since the anti-Gilbert vote would deprive him of many straight-ticket ballots. The Chicago *Sun-Times*, in a post-election editorial, said Gilbert's defeat is "notice to all political bosses that Chicagoans want no more 'gang politics.' They want clean candidates, untainted even by suspicion of intimacy with the hoodlum element. They want candidates of the character of Governor Stevenson and Senator Douglas. . . ."

Defeat of Senator Lucas does have the effect of pushing junior Sen. Paul Douglas into a top spot as patronage dispenser for Illinois. According to political custom, Douglas now passes on appointments of postmasters, judges and other federal positions in Illinois. There is some hope that from the rubble of this election there may develop a real liberal-independent Democratic Party in Illinois, free of "bosses," under the leadership of Governor Stevenson, Senator Douglas and others who know good government is the best politics.

COST OF THE ELECTIONS

The election expenditures provisions of the 1940 Hatch Act are so many dead letters when it comes to determining the money spent in 1950. With only major national political committees required to report their spending this year the greatest part of what is thought to be a record off-year slush fund was distributed through state, local and nondescript groups. These groups, as far as the Hatch Act is concerned, are accountable only to God and to their contributors.

While experts believe that the 1950 campaigns came close to equaling the $40 million estimated to have been spent during the 1948 election year, both party committees have reported only nominal expenditures. The $1,705,730 reported spent by the Democratic National Committee and the $1,122,397 listed by its Republican counterpart fall well within the $3 million limit prescribed by the law, but are close to meaningless as an index of the money available to party campaigns across the nation.

The Democrats received somewhat more money nationally, since many interests think it wise to contribute to the party in power, but Republicans were the more affluent in state and local races. The Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania, for instance, lists preliminary expenditures of $747,841, and GOP Senatorial candidates report spending $334,885 in a very incomplete pre-election listing, to $189,440 reported by Democratic candidates. The law provides that candidates must list financial statements 10 days before elections. In effect, they represent only what the candidates want to report. Neither of the New York candidates reported anything, while Senator Taft reported expenditures of $1,322 as compared with Joseph Ferguson's total of $870. Past records indicate that the post-elections result will not come much closer to announcing the real totals, so ineffective has the law become.

The $25,000 limit for Senatorial contests set by the 1925 Corrupt Practices Act has proved no more realistic. Both candidates in Illinois have listed preliminary expenditures of more than $50,000, most of which is exempted under the law's generous allowance for printing bills, telephone charges and other heavy expense items. The Hatch Act $5,000 limitation on individual contributions has been continuously evaded by devices such as those which permitted 60 members of the DuPont family to give more than $200,000 to various GOP campaign committees in the 1940 campaign and stay within the law.

With moneyed groups allied in countless hidden alliances such 'non-political' organizations as the Committee for Constitutional Government and the American Medical Association, liberal candidates and labor groups have felt it necessary to adopt similar means of obscuring their own meager source of funds.

Only another Congressional investigation can determine just how far and by what means that figure has been exceeded in recent elections. With that information, Congress can proceed to rewrite the unrealistic Hatch Act. It has become increasingly clear that we cannot hope to limit campaign expenditures by prohibition methods. The need is for a system of compelling full publicity of the amounts spent so that voters can have some idea of how much money pressure is being exerted upon them.

DEMOCRATIC GAINS

Of the six new Democrats elected to the Senate, four can be counted on to give the President support on most of his program—Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, Earle C. Clements of Kentucky, John O. Pastore of Rhode Island and Mike Monroney of Oklahoma. Two Southerners, George Smathers of Florida and Willis Smith of North Carolina who beat Fair Deal Senators Claude Pepper and Frank Graham, can be expected to join the Dixie-GOP coalition.

Monroney and Hennings were outstanding victories for the Democrats because of formidable Republican opposition. Monroney defeated red-haired Rev. Bill Alexander, Republican nominee who patterned his campaign along

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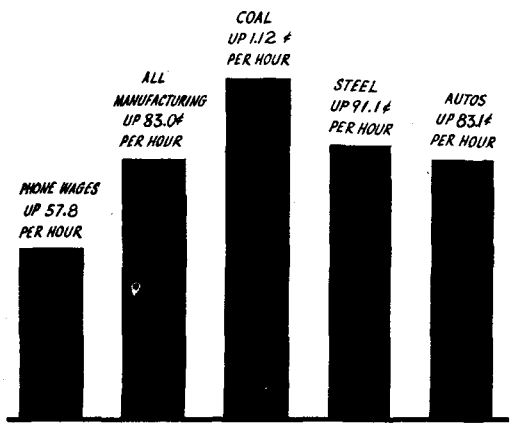
McCarthy lines. Alexander took no consistent stand on any issue during the campaign except to repeat constantly that the State Department is run by Communists, that the US is being led by a group of un-American pro-FDR bureaucrats. Monroney carried on a quiet campaign, stressing the issues that brought him the nomination over Sen. Elmer Thomas in the July primary—rural electrification, development of power resources, preparedness and the present farm parity program. He won by a 50,000 vote majority.

Democrats won the Governorship, too, despite the fact that the GOP put more money behind Jo O. Ferguson. Governor-elect is Johnston Murray, son of former Gov. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray. However, the GOP did recapture two normally Republican congressional districts which went Democratic in the 1948 landslide. Six other Democratic Congressmen won re-election, including Rep. Toby Morris, one of the few to uphold President Truman's veto of the McCarran bill.

Thomas C. Hennings, who had the belated blessing of President Truman, won over Sen. Forrest C. Donnell by a 90,000-vote margin. Donnell failed to show strength even in the rural districts which he had previously carried. Missouri polled a vote of 1.2 million, unusually high for an off-presidential year.

Phone Workers State Their Case


PHONE WAGES UP 57.8 PER HOUR
ALL MANUFACTURING UP 83.0¢ PER HOUR
COAL UP 1.12 ¢ PER HOUR
STEEL UP 91.1¢ PER HOUR
AUTOS UP 83.1¢ PER HOUR

This chart, based on Bureau of Labor Statistics data and prepared by the Communication Workers of America, shows that telephone workers' wages have lagged badly on a cents-per-hour basis.

TELEPHONE TIE-UP

During the past 10 years, the real wages of telephone workers (what the paycheck will buy in terms of today's purchasing power) have remained static. In 1939, telephone workers ranked sixteenth in hourly earnings among 123 major-industry wage earners in this country. Today they rank sixty-seventh. The average hourly earnings of telephone workers are $1.40, while average wages in the automobile industry are now $1.75; in steel, $1.70; in coal, $2.00; in gas and electric utilities, $1.61 an hour. (See chart.)

When negotiations between the CIO Communications Workers of America and Western Electric Company were deadlocked last week, CWA President Joseph A. Beirne announced the November 9 strike deadline. Western Electric, manufacturing subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, had refused to grant the union's demand for a "substantial" but unstated wage increase for 10,000 installers of telephone equipment and some 6,000 equipment distributors and for a contract of shorter duration than the 18-month term. The company had offered wage increases averaging 10.17 cents an hour to distributors and 11.25 cents an hour to installers. The union charged that the wage offer was inadequate in amount and inequitably distributed among different categories of workers. Union officials especially objected to the 18-month contract without a wage reopener or an automatic mid-term increase or a cost-of-living escalator clause included.

In a nationwide radio address, Beirne pointed out that there "is not one single instance where any employer imposed a wage freeze for as long as the Bell System seeks to introduce. Companies like Westinghouse, General Electric and the automotive companies have recognized that wages must be reviewed within a 12-month period. Many such companies have agreed to review wages after a six-month period. . . ."

Key unit in the strike is CWA Division 6, working in 43 of the 48 states and the District of Columbia. The 10,000 installers and the distributors threw picket lines around every major exchange in the country, except for those in New England. A union official estimated that over 300,000 other telephone workers refused to cross the picket lines. While automatic dial exchanges continued to function, long-distance service and manually-operated exchanges were reduced or eliminated.

Actually, negotiations between CWA and the Bell System have been going on about a year. In June of this year, after several truces, most CWA divisions signed contracts providing some improvements, but not containing a general wage boost. The company said it would adjust wages of Western Electric workers but failed to do so. When the Korean conflict began, prices shot upward and major corporations like Chrysler, Ford, the Aluminum Corporation, General Electric and Westinghouse negotiated wage increases. During the month of September alone, about 1.5 million workers received wage boosts. CWA sought to re-open its contracts. AT&T refused and, instead, began singling out independent unions and offering what union officials describe as "substandard" wage increases. The offers were rejected.

Beirne declared that the Bell System can't plead "inability to pay" an increase. "Telephone business is booming," he said. "Bell System profits have gone up sharply. The company made $110 million more in the past 12 months than they did in the same period a year ago. Profits for the third quarter of 1950 showed a steady increase."

Communication Workers of America would like to have their fair share of this prosperity.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

In Italy even the atheists get married in church and have their children baptized. And in Italy where Communism is more strongly entrenched than anywhere else in the Western world, even the Communists are not really unfriendly toward America. Certainly this is true of the feelings of very large numbers of the older rank-and-filers both in the Communist Party and in the Communist-dominated labor organization — the CGIL. Two decades of Fascism did not wipe out among the economically lowly (which in Italy means most of the population) the good-will built up toward the land of equal opportunity by the previous four decades of large-scale emigration. And Communism has become stronger among the younger workers and peasants only because democracy remained weak, because it did not free the people from the poverty that in the old days had sent millions fleeing to America.

The "Dayton incident," which took place recently, helps explain why the good-will of millions of Italians, including Communists, toward America is not being transformed effectively into valuable support for democratic leadership.

Leon Dayton took over from James D. Zellerbach several months ago as the head of the ECA Mission to Italy. At about the same time, the mission acquired a new public-relations chief—Frank Gervasi. Both had a different view of these problems from that of Ambassador James C. Dunn. Their task was to make Marshall Plan help a means of narrowing the gap between the democracy toward which the Italians turned and the variety they had in their own country.

In the human context, the task called for an extension of Gen. Omar Bradley's formula that "men without weapons are helpless, but weapons without men are nothing." It demanded that the huge sums of dollar aid, which have been given by America to Italy during nearly three years of ECA, be diverted in this crucial year of the struggle against Communism, from continuing to strengthen the Italian state's money, to starting to build up the Italian people's morale.

The "Dayton incident" began with the publication in the New York *Times* of an article written by its chief correspondent in Italy, Arnaldo Cortesi—well-known political conservative and ardent anti-Communist. The article reported the statements of ECA "officials" in Rome "that Italian financial policy had retarded recovery and had obstructed efforts to deal effectively with the unemployment problem." The Italian Government's foreign exchange holdings had increased during the last year by about $355 million, but the article continued:

> Observers here regard unemployment as the fundamental Italian problem. Inadequacy in dealing with it is considered as an indirect advantage to the Communists. . . . According to the agency's [ECA] economic experts, it is absurd for the Government to be showing a surplus at a time when private companies are going bankrupt, when unemployment is stationary at around two million and when mechanical industries are running at only about 60 percent of capacity. . . . Officials of the Marshall Plan agency are particularly disheartened by the slow rate at which lire accumulated in the European Recovery Program counterpart fund are being spent. . . . Government-owned mechanical industries which represent a considerable part of the total Italian industrial productive equipment are at present running at somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of capacity.

At a press conference the next day Dayton said:

> The answer to the question whether Italian Government policy has curtailed recovery is undoubtedly yes. You cannot get around it and we have done a great deal of work to get the Government to see it. . . . We feel that the Government could have done a great deal more to help industry without running any risk of disastrous inflation.

Dayton did not mention that the Italian Government has used American dollars to buy gold in the United States. The basic issue was not, therefore, between any form of Socialism or even New Dealism and capitalism; it was between modern industrial democratic capitalism and obsolete capitalism whose goal is to make the rich richer and to strengthen the state at the expense of productive industry.

The press stories caused a violent storm in Italian domestic politics. Treasury Minister Giuseppe Pella who pairs with Interior (Police) Minister Mario Scelba to make the ultra-reactionary team in the Cabinet of Alcide de Gasperi threatened to resign.

Dunn, whose notions of democracy are suggested by the important role he played in the American Vichy-Darlan-Badoglio policy, got to work on the task of frustrating any chance for an American policy in Italy conceived in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He had a series of conferences with de Gasperi, then brought in Dayton to smoke a pipe of peace.

The Italian Government announced that it had learned "with extreme amazement" of Dayton's declarations because "they are in open conflict" with Zellerbach's views. The Italian people, on the other hand, learned with pleasure both of the declarations and of the conflict with the notions of Zellerbach who, among his other gifts to Italian democracy, had helped block land reform.

It was all in vain. Dayton could propose but Dunn disposed. Dayton sent a long letter to de Gasperi disclaiming the views sent forth in the original New York *Times* article and also those stated at the press conference. The Italian peasants, who on some desperate occasions have been reduced to eating crow, recognized the taste. The New York *Times* gallantly chewed a morsel too, reporting: "Mr. Dayton said that the dispatch reporting the criticisms . . . had been prepared without his knowledge and reported views that he did not share either in his personal or his official capacity."

And the Italian rank and file friends of America who might have shifted from Communism to democracy in the great struggle of 1950 have lost the brief chance to get the kind of American leadership they can support.

PERCY WINNER

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DID HITLER WIN?

by A. Powell Davies

DID HITLER win? I ask this question seriously, and I am looking, not at devastated Europe, but at political Washington. The incapacity, dissension and strident irresponsibility which Hitler said would destroy American leadership in the event of his own defeat are apparent. They have not destroyed us—not yet; but how sure can we be about the future?

Hitler, says Rauschning, writing in 1940, knew himself as "the greatest destroyer in history," and whenever he felt, as he sometimes did, that he might not be triumphant, he believed that he would drag the world with him to destruction, and thus, in spite of being defeated, would emerge as an avenging Lucifer, scourging the world with its own evils.

The character of the political campaign which has just ended is a case in point. There will be incessant arguments as to who won or lost and why. Bodily dead in the rubble of the Reichschancellery Hitler may be, but what he represented and his methods were alive in our American campaign. We must ask ourselves seriously if Hitler won. We must inquire, before we lose our souls, how deeply Hitlerism is rooted in our free soil.

It is one of the great misfortunes of our time that Hitler's intellect was underrated. It was not understood that an evil man could be a man of vision, a malignant genius with immense powers of comprehension. Nor was it understood that a man could have these powers and still be mad. Yet Hitler was not the first, and he is not likely to be the last.

This is what he had to say about the United States: that if the responsibilities of world leadership are imposed upon us we shall prove too reluctant, too distracted and too disunited to meet them. The United States will find it impossible, he said, to strike a balance between individualism and liberty on the one hand and social discipline and restraint on the other, and thus will be unable to maintain at the same time both freedom and strength. "The determination to make money regardless" will persist under all circumstances, and political ambition will drive leaders into fervent but contentious patriotism, weakening the nation at the very moment when most of all it needs unity and strength.

Our American race problem, he continued, we shall prove unable to solve. Faced with the intolerable dilemma of either granting full equality to American Negroes, which we are entirely unwilling to do, or of permitting them to join the ever-growing masses of the discontented, we shall remain irresolute while little by little they add their numbers to the rising reservoir of revolution which Communism would exploit. Americans, said Hitler, have only a short tradition; their democracy is unstable, they are soon driven to desperate expedients, and, instead of creating a new future, the United States, faced with a world of upheaval, will suffer breakdowns and turmoil on a gigantic scale.

He told his friends that under stress such governments as ours would always make ruinous blunders. Very largely they would be governments of "holdovers from the past" and would never give up trying to bring back the world that is gone. After a while, he said, "the ruling elite" will distinguish itself "by lack of talent, of willpower and intuition. . . .Selection [then] takes place according to absence of ability and indeed even of character." The next stage, he predicts, is the refusal of those in positions of power to be dislodged; they will change the rules, make new laws embodying their own prejudices, reflecting their own fears and favorable to their own ambitions; then, when conditions grow serious enough, they will abandon rules altogether, shut up disagreeable opponents, use the weapons of the state to stifle criticism. At this point, the situation is fully ripe for the final debacle; we shall have given victory to the Communists.

Not all of these predictions have as yet come true. Perhaps they never will, and one must certainly devoutly hope so. But the trend is far too plain for confidence or reassurance. If Hitler is to be proved wrong, these threatening trends will have to be reversed.

We have done better in meeting the claims of world leadership than he expected, but we have managed it only by narrow margins and under constant harassment by the sort of men Hitler believed would in the end frustrate us, our political "irresponsibles." These men have undermined our influence abroad, confused and sickened our allies, dim-wittedly voted for what the Kremlin wants, weakened the influence of our diplomacy, tormented our responsible leaders, debauched our public opinion, legislated their own frenzy into rabid laws, sown deep mistrust into all departments of our Government and turned our defense against treason into reckless witch-hunts. All that Hitler now needs to see his prophecies fulfilled is that these men wear down our saner leadership.

The Rev. A. Powell Davies is one of America's best known preachers. Minister of All Souls' Church, Unitarian, in Washington, he is the author of "Faith of an Unrepentant Liberal."

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Not nearly enough of us have recognized as yet the full effect of the McCarthy smear campaign on our friends abroad. To liberal Americans, inured, at least until the recent election, to patience with their own politics, McCarthyism can be written off as Senatorial capers. Not so in England or in France. These countries know that their destinies, even their very survival, may depend upon what happens in American politics. They absolutely do not understand, and nothing can make them understand, the kind of attack the McCarthy coterie is making on our State Department. Fortunately for us, part of the effect of this episode, in Europe, was redeemed by the promptitude of the President's action in the crisis in Korea. But what of the future?

Moreover, what of the inference, the inevitable moral implications of such behavior? There is a sickness, a morbidity, a moral malignity behind these attacks on our leadership. One after another, men of ability, men of character, men with the capacity to lead are being destroyed. Or they choose—and who can blame them?—to leave the Government. If, through sheer fortitude, they decide to remain they must set aside heavy responsibilities and urgent duties to defend themselves against heedless, sinister, insane attacks.

When will we understand what drove Emerson to write the following vehement lines? "Men of aim must lead the aimless, men of invention lead the uninventive. . . . Neither the caucus, nor the newspapers, nor the Congress, nor the mob, nor the guillotine, nor fire, nor all together, can avail to outlaw, cut out, burn or destroy the offense of superiority in persons."

That is Mr. Acheson's offense. He is a superior person. He is also, it seems, a gentleman. He found it natural to speak compassionately of his former associate, the unfortunate Mr. Alger Hiss. George Washington would have done the same, or Madison or Jefferson. None of them would have spoken harshly of a one-time colleague who had fallen to low estate. Nor would any of them have allowed his personal sympathies to impede him in official duties. They would have been astonished—as Mr. Acheson was entitled to be—at having their patriotism questioned. But these standards of decent behavior have become a handicap.

Mr. Acheson has also offended the "irresponsibles" by understanding the world situation and evolving a policy to deal with it. It was not a partisan policy, it was an American policy. Responsible Republicans as well as Democrats have on the whole approved it. But the group of "irresponsibles," having no foreign policy at all, have devoted themselves to attacking Mr. Acheson's. Is there such a thing as political psychopathy?

How long can we go on humiliating the public servants from whom we expect devotion, deriding and abusing them out of fear that they may outperform the common standard? It was Francis Bacon who wrote as long ago as 1625 that "he that cannot mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's." And Montaigne, half a century later, put it even more completely: "Those who cannot attain to greatness avenge themselves by railing at it." We want our leaders to be what we call "regular," by which we mean, no better than anybody else. But if they are no better than anybody else, why should we want them as leaders?

It is not only our foremost leaders, however, who are being accorded this treatment. It runs right through the Government. So much is this the case that there is increasing reluctance on the part of men of ability to come to Washington at all. They know what to expect. Why should they come to Washington to have their reputations damaged, to lose their peace of mind, their confidence, the friendliness of life about them, when they can stay where they are with no fear of such treatment and do a good job in what they are already doing? Why should they take the risk of baseless accusations, insinuation, slander, and have to spend half their time defending themselves, thus making it possible to go on with their work the other half of the time? And at the end, of course, be thrown out—discarded!

Hitler would be pleased at this reluctance. Our Government will come to be managed, he said, by men distinguished by their "lack of talent, of will-power." Selection will take place "according to absence of ability and indeed even of character." With their wild accusations, their stunt "investigations" and their witch-hunts, the "irresponsibles" are giving Hitler more and more of what he wants.

They are doing the same thing by their effect upon public opinion. The multitude of anxious people, fearful for the future, frustrated in their wish for normalcy, are easily manipulated into blaming everything upon somebody else. It is a sad fact of human nature that relief from a painful situation is most easily found by furiously attacking the most accessible victim.

I was given a rather instructive account, recently, of how this happens in the case of an ordinary member of the House of Representatives. A Congressman, most of the time (I was told), suffers from frustration. He is "pushed around."

And in Congress he is "pushed around" some more. Very seldom can he get what he wants. He must do the bidding of others. So presently he wants to reverse the roles and do some "pushing around" himself. He finds his only really defenseless victims in the administrative departments—some of them good-sized targets. Upon these he projects his own frustrations, hunting them

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down with euphoric zest, and thus achieves considerable relief from his own embittered condition.

This is probably too simple a diagnosis. Yet it is pertinent. And no one who knowns anything about the matter will deny the fanatical zeal with which a Congressman, seated on a suitable committee, will persecute an administrative-department victim. One cannot help noticing, while looking at such a Congressman, how perfectly he would fill the role of commissar. If by some malign fate we were turned overnight into a Communist state, we would expect to see the same persecutors occupying much the same positions, and it is quite a question whether they themselves would feel the difference.

The "irresponsibles" have gone too far. They are carrying us along the road of Hitler's prophecies. Instead of helping us to defeat Communism, they are making it more likely that the Communists will be the victors. We must see—before it is too late—what the "irresponsibles" are doing to us. We must discredit them, expose them, and end their power which tends to weaken us.

We need a higher level. Our people must face the facts soberly. We are living in a very dangerous world. We are all encompassed by the same peril. It is not a condition brought upon us by any one party, any one group, or any assortment of individual men. It is much too big a thing—this thing that has happened to us—to be explainable in ways like that. We must see it as something that we must deal with *together*—sanely, deliberately, resolutely, unitedly.

We need intelligence, patience, fortitude, determination. We need discussion, not vituperation; precise thinking, not an emotional debauch. We shall win, not by the loudness of our patriotic protestations but by returning to our founding principles. Armed might may help. In any case, it is necessary. But just as indispensable is a higher level in our politics. There is no room for "irresponsibles." Unless we learn this, we shall not win at all. The winner will be Hitler.

CAN DEMOCRACY WORK IN ASIA?

by Michael Straight

ASIAN UNITY is the great ambition of Pandit Nehru. Unity, he believes, will enable Asia to take its rightful place in world politics and to keep out of a Third World War.

Nehru's search for a basis for Asian unity compels him to obscure and deny the moral conflict between freedom and Communism. It prompts him to oppose the United States as the only free nation powerful enough to bring about the alignment of Asia along ideological lines. It leads him down paths of appeasement. Yet if Nehru could help to bring China out of the Soviet orbit and into an Asiatic bloc, the neutrality of Asia might not be too high a price to pay for this vital transfer of allegiance.

Is there any basis for Nehru's policy?

The majority of Asian nations have burst the bonds of colonialism in five short years. Nehru sees in their common background the basis of their future unity. They have all suffered foreign domination. They all desire independence today. They have all been left behind in the sweep of economic progress. They all want to become industrialized nations overnight. They have all suffered from oppression by village landlords and money lenders. They are all moving toward land reform. They have all been governed by corrupt and dictatorial rulers. They all want honest and representative government.

In addition, Nehru asserts, the nations of Asia share "a passionate urge for freedom." He insists, "they are developing or wish to develop democratic institutions."

For us this is the critical point, and at this point, Nehru seems to be tragically mistaken.

It is true that Asia is linked by common problems. But *are these problems to be overcome by compulsion or by consent?* On this central issue the divisions within Asia are as deep as those that threaten all the world.

China and Viet Minh are dedicated to compulsion, directed by the Communist Party. Thailand, Burma and Nationalist China are dedicated to compulsion directed by military rulers. India, Indonesia, Ceylon and the Philippines are moving towards democracy.

Westerners maintain that these contrasts are basic and must lead to conflict. Nehru has held that they are superficial and do not preclude co-operation. His policy was challenged by the crossing of the 38th Parallel. It was undermined by China's invasion of Tibet.

In the conflict that is developing within Asia, democracy starts at a clear disadvantage.

In contrast to the purposefulness of the Communist governments, and the ruthlessness of the military regimes, the democratic governments of Asia lack direction and self-confidence. Democracy must always contain an element of self-doubt. In Asia, the self-doubt of democratic leaders approaches dangerous indecision. The re-

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This is the second of a series on nationalism, Communism and democracy in India and the Far East. The third will deal with the strength of Communism in Asia. – THE EDITORS.

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curring theme of Nehru's speeches is: I have no well-defined program; I cannot see far ahead; I sense the direction in which the masses are moving; I move with them towards an unknown end.

To see this indecision as an expression of Nehru's own divided personality is to blind oneself to the basic dilemma of the democratic leaders of Asia.

With some reason we identify democracy and free enterprise. We take it for granted that our way is best of organizing society. In Asia that is far from clear.

Asia's primary needs are to raise industrial production, to increase agricultural productivity and to achieve efficiency and integrity in government. Private enterprise can raise industrial production only if there is present in Asia a vigorous capitalist class, or a large volume of foreign investment. Increased agricultural productivity requires mechanization and a consolidation of land holdings that peasants are bound to resist. Efficiency and integrity in government in the years before a tradition of public service is established require a discipline that democracy cannot easily enforce.

Colonial rule has not left Asia unprepared for democratic development. There are industries in Central India, a strong democratic tradition in South India and effective provincial governments in Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and Mysore. In general, however, in India as in most of free Asia, resources are not being developed; agriculture is stagnant; corruption is widespread; and there is no tradition of democracy that the majority of the people recognize and love.

For us democracy and free enterprise are expressions of our national character and temperament. It is doubtful whether the character and temperament of Asia conform with ours. But even if democracy and free enterprise are accepted as the best means of organizing Asian nations, our own experience proves that they must take root generations before they bear fruit.

It took the United States two centuries to develop modern capitalism. The productive power of our competitive economy derives from a long and continuous rise in the skill and initiative of managers, workers and farmers. Unlike Great Britain, where civil rights were curtailed in the critical years of the Industrial Revolution, we were able to develop capitalism and democracy side by side, because of the extraordinary circumstances of the frontier, an underpopulated continent, and substantial foreign capital.

None of these conditions prevails in Asia today.

In the same way, it took Britain three centuries to extend the franchise to all her citizens. After three centuries, six million Americans are still denied the vote.

Asia today will not wait for three centuries. Her main insistence is on speed of development. Before Asia stands an example of the swift industrialization of a backward nation—the USSR. We may condemn it for its indifference to human costs. But Asians have not been led to hold life dearly. Asia is dominated by misery. Misery must cause impatience. For the impatient, compulsion becomes irresistibly tempting as the short cut. The Western-trained leaders of free Asia are committed to the patient methods of democracy. But it seems doubtful that the mass electorates to whom power is given, and the new leaders whom they thrust forward, will follow in the footsteps of a passing generation that sat at the feet of professors at Harvard and Balliol.

In recognition of this weakness, the Western governments rely on nationalism as the counter force to Communism during the decades in which democracy takes root in Asia. But nationalism, while it delays the encroachment of Soviet power, is not inherently democratic and offers no solution to the conditions that breed Communism.

Modern nationalism began in Asia in a response to Western liberalism. It took hold when nationalist leaders restored to the peoples of Asia their self respect. The nationalist method was to recreate Asia's own traditions. In this sense it was conservative. At the same time it mobilized millions of people by voicing their demand for change. The movement was not concerned with consistency. It was individualist and collectivist; liberal and Socialist. It was a negative rebellion against foreign rule, rather than an impulse toward the positive objectives for which political parties seek power. It rejected all planning for the future as a divisive force within the unifying emotion of nationalism.

In the brief time since Asia achieved its independence two main trends have developed. Either the national movement which achieved independence has consolidated its power in a one-party state as in Pakistan, or, as in India, it has faltered, and begun to break up. In both cases it has lost popular support. For, lacking the disciplines of the Communist Party, the leaders tend to give in to human weakness when power at last is theirs. In colonial days they were martyrs proudly suffering imprisonment and poverty. Today they are often the new rich. In all free Asia the national leader of yesterday, the politician of today, as the villagers say, is a man with a lot of wealth and little sympathy who shares his sympathy and keeps his wealth.

The *Eastern Economist* writes of India:

> With the transfer of power on August 15, 1947, the nationalistic impulse faded away. The attack on privilege went into operation up to the point where it could be proceeded with uninterrupted by the Right. The Princes gave in with

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almost no fight. The Zemindaris' days are clearly numbered. . . . All this was possible without bringing the Right and Left into conflict, for both were in fact redundant. . . . In so far as the revolution has borne fruit its instruments have been leaders on the Right, aided by a Rightist-thinking civil service. . . . The Leftist element, symbolized by the Prime Minister, has been ineffective in action even while being vociferous in thought. . . . That is the present state of the revolution. It has consolidated all that could be consolidated without disunity in the ruling party. There it has come summarily to a halt. The Party cannot go Left because of the inadequacy of the Government machine to take over and administer anything more than it has on hand. It cannot go Right because of a widespread emotional feeling for the 'underdog'. . . . If the Indian Revolution ever had a revolutionary character, that character has now been lost.

In the days of British rule, Nehru, P. D. Tandon and S. V. Patel fought shoulder to shoulder in the Congress Party. Today Nehru, the Prime Minister and Fabian Socialist, places unenforceable reforms on the statute books. Patel, the Deputy Premier and Rightist, maintains order, forming and breaking provincial ministries. Tandon, the Party chairman and archaist, urges his countrymen to foreswear salt, honey, dairy products, all cooked food, leather-soled shoes and inoculations against disease.

The Congress Party will hold together through the coming election. At most, it may survive one more.

In the West, a majority party is given purpose and unity by the presence of a constructive minority party. In India, as in most of free Asia, the minority consists largely of dissatisfied members of the majority party who have been denied patronage. In time they may form a second party, but it will hardly be one with well-defined political principles. Nehru sees his platform in "the Welfare State." But this has little meaning, and still less when one of his leading supporters, Acharya Kripalani, adds, "The police state is the way to the welfare state."

The Socialist Party hopes to become the government of India if it is given time in which to grow. It stresses social mobility rather than Socialism. It has strength among the slum dwellers of Bombay, the miners of Bihar and the railway workers. But it lacks the resources and the ideas to win the villagers of India, and its leaders seem far removed from its smoldering rank and file.

On the anniversary of Gandhi's death on October 3, a Socialist leader, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, expressed the disillusionment felt by many Indians today:

> Passivity . . . has become the chief characteristic of our national life today. The other trend is archaism or revivalism . . . an attempt to break away from an intolerable present by reconstructing an earlier phase which seems full of glory and triumph. . . . At the moment when the dominant leadership has become sterile . . . and the large mass has slipped into passivity, the day seems to be with the revivalists. . . . They seized their chance when in the chaos of partition they murdered the creative genius Gandhi. . . . Ever since they have been moving from vantage to vantage, victory to victory, for the creative genius of the people burns low and dim.

The revivalist movement was founded in 1925. Partition has given it strength. Its aim is to arouse a consciousness of racial solidarity among Hindus. Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion. It has no church or hierarchy. But the Moslems have founded a Moslem State in Pakistan and a Hindu State in India seems to be the answer.

The front for the revivalists is the Hindu Mahasabha, a narrow group with influence but no real base, that seeks power through indoctrination within the majority group. Behind it is the RSS, whose members, clad in uniforms, drill once a day. Seven hundred thousand Hindus are organized in RSS cells. Another 500,000 are organized in youth groups, starting with six-year-old children. It was banned for 18 months for its role in Gandhi's assassination. Now it is back, organizing its cells, keeping silent on its aims. A voluntary ban on the RSS by newspapers leaves Indians ignorant of its purposes and its strength. It seeks to rid India of Western influence, to drive the Moslems out of the country, to form a Hindu nation with a rigid moral code, drawn from the past.

A Hindu state which denies all rights to 40 million Moslem citizens must be a reactionary and sterile dictatorship, rejecting the promise of science, and inciting communal violence to maintain its power. Already the heritage of violence in India is appalling. The conflict between India and Pakistan is ruining both nations through its burdens of armaments, boycotts, tensions and homeless refugees. Pressure for war is high in West Bengal. New riots seem almost inevitable. In the long run, revolution alone may bring an end to communalism, as desperate men overturn every symbol of an intolerable status quo.

Against the rising tide of communalism stands Jawaharlal Nehru, commanding surging crowds with such reckless courage that it is hard to believe that he will live more than a few years. He lacks the confidence of the civil service, the trust of the manufacturers, the support of his own party, which will discard him when it can. Yet he alone can inspire a loyalty to a democratic nation that transcends conflicting loyalties to community, caste, race and state. He alone can preside over hungry but peaceful millions who see in him a great man who sacrificed his wealth and happiness in order to suffer with them. Before we reject him for his reluctance to join the West we must ask whether we would prefer a dependent continent, mired in bloodshed and civil war.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Fear Rides Herd*

THE REPUBLICANS made substantial gains on November 7, not only in the Senate and the House but in gubernatorial races. The Senate of the 82nd Congress will be composed of 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans. It is hard to believe that Senator McCarran could not have been defeated in Nevada if the Republicans had really gone after him. It is interesting that Gov. Vail Pittman, the Democratic Governor, who is a better man by far than the ineffable McCarran, lost in his fight for re-election.

As for the House, it appears that the Democrats will have a margin of about 25, although, as this is being written, final returns have not come in. In both Houses, the administration will have tough going because the Dixiecrats hold the balance of power and at heart they are conservative Republicans.

The November 7 election result can be credited largely to the widespread hysteria that prevails in the United States. This hysteria is the result of the campaign of fear that the Republicans have assiduously put on, ever since 1946, and have intensified during the last two years. It is bad for a human being to be dominated by fear and it is just as bad for the nation. However, a politician seeking votes in order to get into office is never too scrupulous, although in this last election the level on which the Republicans carried on their campaign was just about as low as it could be and permit the contestants to see over the edge of the gutter.

In one notable instance, a candidate was elected who had been absolutely fearless as a member of the Senate. I refer to Sen. Herbert H. Lehman of New York. He did not dodge on a single issue. He had been one of the few who had had courage enough to vote to sustain the President's veto of the notorious McCarran thought-control bill. Fortunately, from Governor Dewey down, no one in New York dared even to suggest that there was a tiny streak of sympathy for Communism in Senator Lehman's courageous make-up. But while Lehman won, an equally brave member of the House of Representatives, Helen Gahagan Douglas, lost her fight for the Senate in California. Although she was no more of a Communist than was Senator Lehman, her opponent, Richard M. Nixon and his supporters were unscrupulous enough to campaign against her as though she were a dangerous Red who followed orders from the Kremlin. Mr. Nixon demonstrated how low a man can sink when his ambitions outrun his scruples. Few would care to live with Mr. Nixon's conscience.

The re-election of Senator McMahon of Connecticut emphasizes in reverse the potency of the Red smear that the Republicans used so generally and so lavishly. Although Joe McCarthy campaigned in Connecticut, McMahon escaped injury. McMahon had the advantage of having taken a statesmanlike stand for peace on two or three occasions. I suspect that it was his outspokenness for world peace that was a principal factor in McMahon's re-election. Other Democratic candidates would have been well advised if they had been known to be as vigorously for world peace as was McMahon. On the other hand, the defeat of Senator Tydings in Maryland was nothing short of fantastic. Senator Tydings had taken a position more than once for universal disarmament, but apparently this did not have the appeal to the people that the expression "world peace" had.

While McCarthy was ineffective in Connecticut, he did real damage to Tydings in Maryland. McMahon was also a member of the Tydings Subcommittee that brought in the stinging but well-merited report roundly condemning Senator McCarthy for his cowardly attack upon decent and patriotic Americans while hiding behind his immunity. I have too much confidence in the American people as a whole to believe that the lies and character assassination that are essential elements of McCarthyism will prevail in the end, even though they may temporarily persuade voters who flocked to the polls this year, not as sentient and reasonable human beings, but as white rabbits.

The victory of Senator Tobey in New Hampshire was cheering news. The voters of that state should lay their plans now to call home a man who is of no credit either to their state or to the US Senate—Sen. Styles Bridges. The loss of Senator Myers in Pennsylvania was a serious one, although he will be succeeded by a man who ought to make the best Senator that the Republicans of Pennsylvania have elected in many a day. The defeat of Scott Lucas of Illinois was a heavy blow for his party. The loss of Senator Thomas of Utah is one that the nation will feel.

Now, the experts will be looking forward to 1952. President Truman overcame almost insurmountable handicaps in 1948. Can he do the same in 1952 and whom will the Republicans pit against him—Duff, Warren, Dewey or Eisenhower—or a combination of two of these four? With 1952 just ahead, it seems to me that the Democratic leadership unnecessarily handicapped itself in some states this year, but long-range predictions are risky.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

AMERICAN ENGINEER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

by Joseph Barnes

IT WAS only a few years ago that the big question about Soviet Russia in most American minds was: Will it work? Between 1933 and 1941 Americans, using those empirical and pragmatic talents with which we are still widely credited, were able for a few years to look for the answer. We collected some data, but not enough to convince anyone except those who were prepared to abandon the inductive method for an *a priori* answer, one way or the other. Now two wars, one hot and one cold, have caused the search for this answer to be throttled in Moscow and all but given up in the United States. Those Americans who were once most convinced that the Soviet system could never work are now the most frightened of its streamlined efficiency. So there is a curious interest in the accounts of Americans who knew Soviet Russia so well that they were never quite sure whether it would work or not.

OUR ALLY: THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA, by William A. Wood, as told to Myriam Sieve (Scribner's; $3).

William A. Wood was 63 years old (he is 84 now) when he first went to Russia in 1929 as a consultant engineer to help reorganize and build non-ferrous-metal plants in the First Five-Year Plan. He left the country repeatedly, and sometimes in high dudgeon, to work in the US, in Prague and in France, but each time he went back again. At the outbreak of war, he was almost certainly the last American engineer with an American passport in Russia. He went on showing the Russians how to stretch their scanty alloys in making shell casings in a dilapidated plant in Tula (where most samovars come from) until the Nazis had almost encircled the town. He kept a box-score on German bombings in Moscow for a while, and then he came home.

Wood is a rock-ribbed Republican, Princeton '95, a man to whom engineering is a religion. He learned early that, as long as he kept his independence and could deliver rolled copper, the Russians would take a great deal of abuse, and even orders, along with his advice. So he found himself haranguing Communist Party meetings, showing Russian engineers how to get their hands dirty, and learning a vast amount about what made Russians run. He was apparently lucky enough to have a wife who never learned that it was none of her business if a Russian hospital was unsanitary or if the secret police started to push her Russian friends around. Between the two of them, they must have piled up quite a dossier.

Like most Americans who have worked in Russia for a long time, Wood came back with a deep affection for the ordinary people of that country and an appalled sense of their backwardness. For some years, he lived in the thick, slimy mud of Kolchugino, about 100 miles northeast of Moscow, where he effectively took over and ran a copper and brass plant which he had been instructed merely to inspect. Later, he lived for a year in Irkutsk, helping to make dredges for the gold fields of Siberia, in a region filled with prison encampments after convict labor supplanted free prospecting. He saw the seamy side of Soviet Russia. One contract cut his weight by 45 pounds in three months.

It is clear that he gave the system a higher rating before 1936 and 1937, when Communist orthodoxy and a relative increase in the efficiency of the secret police did so much to stifle the expansive nature of the Russian people. By the outbreak of war, he had lost all but a very few of his Russian friends, and his original skepticism about the system had become frank and open pessimism. But he had lived in France during the Nazi invasion of that country, and the contrast caught him up short. "The Russians *knew* what they were fighting for," he reports, "and whatever it was, they believed in it."

It is characteristic that his closest approaches to political generalization are phrased in engineering terms. There was "not enough margin for error" in the Soviet system, he found; in other places, he deplores the lack of "the coefficient of elasticity." He kept his mouth shut on political questions, but argued for nearly twenty years on the necessity of foremen in a metal plant, whether it be socialist or capitalist. He lost the argument, but he learned a lot about Russia.

Much of what he learned is to be found in his garrulous, badly-edited and fascinating book. As an engineer, trying to create some order out of the muddle of Russia's breakneck industrialization, he was a participant in Russian life. So his stories have both an authenticity and a significance which reporters or diplomats could never rival. The Russians in this book are real, from Serebrovsky, "inspired engineer and dedicated Communist," who headed the gold trust until he disappeared in the great purge, to the interpreters and students who were his eager disciples until they grew up into responsibility and were literally "swallowed up" by Communism.

This swallowing-up process in the early years was "a new sense of responsibility toward their jobs." Later, after the purges had begun in dreadful earnest, it became a naked fear—of foreigners, of foreign ideas or processes, and of responsibility itself. Wood believes that these ideological jitters put such a crimp in economic development that the country was no better prepared for war in 1941 than it had been in 1937. His account of the first months after the Nazi invasion is a story of

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confusion and courage. Through it all, he kept his liking for the Russian people and a shrewd suspicion that in the long run they will prove stronger than any dogma or system their leaders may impose upon them.

Wood belongs in a tradition of American engineers in Soviet Russia which began with Charles Smith, a railroad expert who was sent to keep the Trans-Siberian open in World War I and stayed to become, for a time under Lenin, virtual czar of all Russian railroads. Colonel Hugh Cooper, who designed and built Dneprostroy, was one of them. So was Jack Calder, who was a friend of Wood and of Stalin, a hard-drinking, hard-living and hard-thinking builder of the biggest steel plants in Siberia. They were all ornery, unpolitical, driving men, with a sense of humor and an itch to build. You won't find the type in the slick-magazine fiction which is now dedicated to hallowing the American way of life, but they and men like them came close to doing for America's world industrial leadership what English sea captains once did for British trade.

Joseph Barnes was Moscow correspondent and Foreign Editor of the New York "Herald Tribune," and Editor of the New York "Star."

God and the Intellectuals

WHEN JOB sought a rational explanation of his misfortunes, he was effectively silenced by having his scientific ignorance thrown in his teeth. Since that time other men, shrewdly extracting the hidden message of the whirlwind's voice, have set themselves the task of acquiring just that knowledge which Job lacked. In the process, as *Religion and the Intellectuals* demonstrates, science has apparently changed sides and espoused a purely secular manner of thought. This symposium of 29 intellectuals takes up, in a way, where the *Partisan Review's* 1943 series of essays on "the new failure of nerve" left off. Sidney Hook opened that series with an attack on the resurgence of religious mysticism and dogma in current thinking. Thinking man had no need for mystery, he wrote, once he had his eye on the conquest of himself and the objective world through the pursuit of truth; no need for "the frenzied search for a center of value that transcends human interests" or for "the belief that myth and mysteries are modes of knowledge." On a wide front, Hook, Dewey and Ernest Nagel undertook a counter-offensive against the "refurbishing of theological and metaphysical dogmas" in philosophy and politics.

RELIGION AND THE INTELLECTUALS, a *Partisan Review* symposium (PR Series Number Three; 80 cents).

Doubtless that counter-offensive recalled to many readers the basic premises of the major humanist-naturalist tradition in modern thought. Even in the present symposium, most of the participants stress these premises clearly and defiantly. Yet their statements seem more defensively couched than they would have been two or three decades ago. For the most part, they are holding their positions, maintaining a sense of integrity, rather than pushing forward along purposeful lines. Under such conditions, they become more vulnerable to self-doubts, to the general social climate, and to old pressures. And the nineteenth-century Romantic fear of science never died, as the influence of Yeats, Eliot and Pound has shown.

So there has been the intensification of those self-ironic ambiguities which are one aspect of the "modern" American and European mind that one would expect after a decade of steady loss of contact with the pragmatic, expanding, "social" perspectives of the years between the two great wars. It now becomes possible for the editors of *Partisan Review* to accept the "new turn toward religion among intellectuals" and the "growing disfavor" of the "secular attitudes and perspectives" as subjects for analysis and consideration rather than as a threat to be withstood. That may be an oversimplification, yet the manner of posing the subject for discussion shows a drift in that direction. Intellectuals are confronted with the fact that many people believe "Western civilization cannot hope to survive without the reanimation of religious values." Is this "a new historic orientation," the editors ask, and if so are there "just and valid reasons for it"? They suggest that perhaps it may be attributed to the failure of the radical movement, the loss of hope for "fundamental social improvement," and a general breakdown in social organization. (Here is certainly implied an *acceptance* of failure, a bleakness of outlook, reflected in much of our literature. But does it simply recognize things as they are? Some of the contributors would doubt it, and the view of I. A. Richards that "there has been no failure but a world-wide and unparalleled triumph of a 'real radical movement'" leads him to suggest, half-humorously, that the turn to religion may derive from our fear of imminent success.)

The questions move from history to religious philosophy. Why has religion become more credible to first-rate minds? Is the scientific attitude being forsaken or placed lower in "the intellectual hierarchy"? What are the relations between religion and culture, and between religion and literature? Which is more essential to culture—institutional or prophetic religion? What about the concepts of religion as a safeguard for tradition, as a social discipline, as a weapon against totalitarianism? What connection is there between the literary concern for "myth" and the religious revival? Is it possible to separate the religious sense from specific religious beliefs?—These questions, and the implied assumptions, suggest a crisis in pragmatic thinking, a crisis of will. The pragmatist at his best is open to all meanings, but he has his historic directions, too. He avoids confusing modes of behavior with intellectual motives, such a confusion as is implicit in seeking a semantic justification for relating modern religion, which *is* institutional, to myth, a highly fluid and adaptable concept; and perhaps straddling the two by a loose use of the term "prophetic," as well as of the term "culture."

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Some of the participants find a haven in this ambiguity of direction. They have the understandable desire to bring two worlds together by redefining religion, in R. P. Blackmur's words, as the experience of "the force working in the self which is greater than the self." It is interesting that Henry Bamford Parkes, who seems much more willing than Blackmur to attribute fundamental weaknesses or narrownesses to the scientific frame of mind, offers a similarly "transcendent" definition of religion. Blackmur, however, offers a program for using the religious convictions "incarnate in" secular experience: "If the mind of the modern intellectual is moving toward . . . this kind of conviction, it ought to strengthen, not limit, the scientific attitude by reminding it of purpose, giving occasion for decision, and raising dramatic urgency to choice." In the true pragmatic tradition he says, "The best hierarchy would be the higgle-de-piggledy we know; but that we do not dare, only God." Parkes's conclusion reflects, despite its admirable inclusiveness, a sensibility that records more accurately the contemporary fear of losing out to any final success of "the scientific world-picture":

> The beginning of wisdom, it seems to me, would be to recognize that although the extent to which we can ever acquire certain knowledge about the universe is extremely limited, the human mind has, nevertheless, a need for some general framework of ideas: that while any such framework should accord with known data, it must always be largely a product of the creative and symbol-forming imagination; and that (beyond the limited range of the known) the only test that can fairly be applied to it is how far it takes account both of the immense variety and complexity of man's emotional potentialities and at the same time of his need for organic wholeness.

It should be clear from these quotations, which in many ways represent the spirit of the majority of replies, that valuable as the symposium is as a source of insights into our intellectual temper, it is even more valuable as a kind of theoretical correlative of our literature. What Blackmur and Parkes are talking about is precisely what a whole line of writers from Henry James to Wallace Stevens have been presenting: the attempt to balance precisely two kinds of value, with personal enrichment as the major goal. Marianne Moore, too, in asserting the positive value of religion, stresses its central meaning as experience—a perfect correlative of her pragmatic *conservatism* as a poet. Auden sees religion as a strong position to be held, as a source of irony and human understanding with room for spiritual assertion. Allen Tate (like William Barrett in one respect) speaks of "spiritual possibilities which our pervasive naturalism had obscured . . . a hitherto unexercised gift of faith." Paul Kecskemeti refers the universal guilt-motif to the abandonment, by intellectuals, first of their traditional faiths and then of the militant "religion" of old-fashioned radicalism. All these approaches (selected and summarized from the many careful, involved arguments in the symposium) are, as Clement Greenberg says of the whole problem, primarily esthetic in their reference. The anthropologist, the pure scientist, the theologian or the dialectical materialist would not refer so often to Eliot or even Kierkegaard or pause so regularly to laugh at Messrs. Waugh and Greene, or be so concerned to place themselves, personally and emotionally, in an exact relation to the conflicting ideas.

Yet this fact may be the very reason that this symposium is so valuable. It has been broad enough to include, at one end, the brilliant orthodoxies of Maritain; at the other, the ardent and strongly reasoned defenses of the secular tradition by Meyer Schapiro, Isaac Rosenfeld, and one or two more; and, in the center, the larger number of equilibrium-seeking attempts to define the qualified naturalism of the day. In its course, the participants have managed to suggest the mingled influences of the pragmatic tradition, the attempted synthesis of secular ideals in the thirties, the strong pull of tradition on the displaced intellectual in need of security and consolation, and the general intellectual and moral atmosphere of American letters today. Like the issue of *PR* dealing with the Ezra Pound controversy, *Religion and the Intellectuals* presents a key-problem in our culture in a very revealing way.

M. L. ROSENTHAL

M. L. Rosenthal is a member of the English Department of Washington Square College, New York University. He has written for "Poetry," "Accent" and other publications.

A controversial figure

Hugo Black

By CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS

HARRIED by the press for his past membership in the Ku Klux Klan, distrusted by minority groups, feared by business interests, Justice Black took up his Supreme Court duties under trying conditions. None the less, his appointment marked the beginning of a new viewpoint in its deliberations. Examining his record, pro and con, Charlotte Williams throws a penetrating light on the real Justice Black and on the important changes in the court's constitutional theory—changes in which he has played a leading role. *$3.50*

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In the Best Families, by Rex Stout (Viking; $2.50).

What could make Nero Wolfe leave his orchids and Fritz and Archie and the more than creature comforts he has so sybaritically enjoyed these many years? As any Wolfe fan can tell you, only the sinister Mr. Zeck, who started getting into the maestro's hair a couple of novels back. The sudden death of a wealthy, middle-aged woman whose handsome young husband has definite links to the ruthless Mr. Zeck is the catalyst, and though it was tough on Archie — practically homeless, hideously on the go, and no impresario to guide him—a Garrison finish lays the big boss by the heels.

Poor Prisoner's Defense, by Richard Sheldon (Simon and Schuster; $2.50).

Dick Payne, struggling young barrister, is briefed to defend Lingley Dixon, a Poor Prisoner unable to hire counsel. Dixon, who up to now has had a spotless

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reputation, is charged with the brutal murder of a village housemaid with whom, according to gossip, he had been "carrying on." Dixon, steadfastly protesting his innocence, is convicted on circumstantial evidence and sentenced to death. The suspense is superbly maintained as Payne slowly unearths evidence that puts the finger on the real murderer—just in time.

Fall Roundup. Worth-while items: *Poisonous Relations*, by Joanna Cannan (Morrow; $2.50); *Dangerous by Nature*, by Manning Coles (Crime Club; $2.25); *Smallbone Deceased*, by Michael Gilbert (Harper; $2.50); *At Last, Mr. Tolliver*, by William Wiegand (Rinehart; $2.50); *Man with a Calico Face*, by Shelley Smith (Harper; $2.50); *The Congo Venus*, by Matthew Head (Simon and Schuster; $2.50). E. H.

For want of space . . .

The editors offer these notes to describe briefly current books that may be of interest to their readers.

The Land of Little Rain, by Mary Austin. Houghton Mifflin; $6.

A superb edition of the 50-year-old classic portrait of the American desert. There is an introduction by Carl Van Doren, and Ansel Adams contributes a portfolio of 48 full-page photographs.

Defense of the West, by B. H. Liddell Hart. Morrow; $4.

The British military expert analyzes the military problems presently besetting the Western democracies in terms both of lessons learned from World War II and of the ultimate goal of permanent security. Liddell Hart is dispassionate and as good a forecaster as any other.

The Sea and Its Mysteries, by John S. Colman. Norton; $3.75.

This introductory text on ocean geography and biology is by the director of the Marine Biological station at Erin, Isle of Man.

The Romantic Rogue, by John Carswell. Dutton; $4.

The hero is Rudolf Erich Raspe, author of *Baron Munchausen's Travels*. Raspe, who was a scamp not unlike his invention, fled Germany to escape arrest for pilfering his patron's medals; his singular masterpiece was written in English and first published in London.

The Year of the Oath, by George R. Stewart. Doubleday; $2.

A meticulous and indignant chronicle of the events surrounding the attack on academic freedom at the University of California. Stewart, a member of the faculty, is the author of *Storm*, *Fire* and *Earth Abides*.

America's Second Crusade, by William Henry Chamberlin. Regnery; $3.75.

This is an examination "without prejudice or favor" of the follies implicit in our participation in World War II. The author, self-styled a historian, thinks that Germany's demands were not unreasonable, that Churchill should have accepted peace on Hitler's terms after Dunkirk, that Germany and Russia might conveniently have gobbled each other up if the belligerent Roosevelt had not tricked his country into a pointless war. Curiosa.

MOVIES: Falling in Love Again

WHAT THE current revival of the twenty-year-old "Blue Angel" suggests is that Emil Jannings was not as great an actor as we thought, that Marlene Dietrich was every bit as wonderful as we remembered and that the style of German picture making in its brief period of dominance, while it may seem to us immoderately heavy and based on a view of human behavior which we do not accept, at least *was* a style and did proceed from convictions. "The Blue Angel" has authority, a quality unusual in any picture at any time.

It is disconcerting about Jannings, at least Jannings of "The Blue Angel," that he looks like a great actor but is really a great mimic. His physical presence is so impressive, his workmanship so finished, that we assumed we were in the presence of genius. Looked at in cold retrospect, his craft can be seen to consist of assuming a number of stock poses, but embellishing them with so much circumstance and changing them with such dexterity that he appears to be creating a character. His Professor Rath, if you examine him carefully, is an intricate composition of readily communicated mannerisms and blatant grimaces signaling extreme emotional states. For all Jannings' technical industry, he never discloses a man behind the busy fabric. That is perhaps one reason why this pathetic tale produces so little pathos.

Another reason is to be found in the German identification of the dignity of

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office with the dignity of man. When the infatuated Herr Professor resigns his teaching post to marry a rathskeller singer, he does not come down in the world; he ceases to exist: a new man, a drunken, unshaven weakling, takes his place. This desecration of respectability may have shocked German audiences; we are accustomed to the idea that the judges and elders among us may occasionally hit the trail. But the tragedy for us is that a man of integrity has been degraded, not that a post of honor has been smirched. For us there must be a "before" and "after" relationship that this picture does not supply.

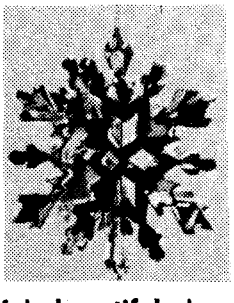
There remains the fascination of Josef von Sternberg's richly symbolic, microscopically detailed direction, and there remains Miss Dietrich. It is difficult to see her as an actress, for she is so compelling as a person. Undoubtedly, it is Dietrich and not Heinrich Mann's character that captures you in "The Blue Angel." Her appeal is obvious, immediate and animal; if you try to define it you become inaccurately prurient, if you try to rise above it you sound a fool. And yet Dietrich, who is to be admired for herself, does perhaps the most important acting in the picture. She is consistent, she is subtle; there is logic in the development of her role and she succeeds in bringing the picture home to you. It is hard to believe, or care, that disaster befell the professor, but you must wonder whether, with Dietrich around, it might not befall you. I enjoyed seeing "The Blue Angel" again; I can't say how the ladies will respond.

The unhappy effect of "Paris 1900" is to destroy the legend it seeks to perpetuate. If Paris in the first fifteen years of the century was the capital of elegance, wit and beauty, there are few hints of it in this gray album. It is a weary parade of women dressed in portieres and lamp shades; of men, anonymous and synonymous, in spade beards and a variety of hard hats. There is not much edification, or even amusement, to be derived from the fact that the manners and fashions of another generation look absurd.

Great figures appear in this disjointed and fragmentary record; it should be exciting to see Tolstoy, Rodin, Jaurès, Renoir, Caruso, Bernhardt, Gide, Debussy and the others, still alive and smiling for the camera; but the glimpses are pathetically fleeting and bleakly unrevealing. The movie camera was a poor reporter in those days and old snapshots are more satisfying.

There is one long and agonizing shot of a fanatic tailor-turned-Icarus who teeters forlornly on a railing of the Eiffel Tower and then plunges helplessly to the ground, his batlike wings swirling about him. A moment later a crowd on a Channel beach cheers happily as Blériot flies in from England and high officials hail the airplane as an instrument of peace and understanding. This little section has irony and pathos; for the rest, the picture is a serious but ineffectual attempt to re-create an era out of random and for the most part trivial scraps. Toward the end, the film discovers pace and meaning, but by then it has deserted its subject and is gathering from every corner of Europe the miserable evidence of war in the making.

John Mason Brown has written a bland commentary that pretends to see what is not there and Monty Woolley delivers it in accents redolent of champagne and slippers. ROBERT HATCH



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MUSIC: Mrs. Coolidge

DEVOTEES of chamber music converged upon the Library of Congress in Washington for a three-day festival presented at the end of October by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation. The five-concert festival, the eleventh of its kind at the Library, was a three-way celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Foundation, the eighty-sixth birthday of its donor, Mrs. Coolidge, and the sesquicentennial of the Library itself. Four new works were commissioned for the occasion—by the American composers Aaron Copland, Robert Palmer and William Schuman, and the Italian veteran Gian Francesco Malipiero (always one of Mrs. Coolidge's favorites)—and they were played in public for the first time in programs that also included familiar pieces by composers ranging from Bach to Stravinsky.

More than thirty years ago Mrs. Coolidge, a Chicagoan with an ample fortune, decided to concentrate her philanthropy in the field of music. Surveying the American musical scene, she saw that the smaller and less pretentious forms of instrumental music were almost unknown to a public that was already fairly well won over to the more obvious pleasures of symphonic and operatic music. The string quartets of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven—masterpieces equal in beauty to the symphonies—were seldom played, and living composers felt little urge to contribute to the literature of chamber music, since they feared that their work would never be performed. Mrs.

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Coolidge determined to do what she could to remedy this situation.

Assuming that it was hopeless to ask Americans to pay to hear chamber music when they were scarcely aware of its existence, Mrs. Coolidge began to present it free. In 1919 she built a sylvan Temple of Music on her property near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and inaugurated there the Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music. To prove at once that she felt as much concern for contemporary music as for the classics, she offered a $1,000 prize for a new work (it was won by Ernest Bloch's Viola Sonata).

Mrs. Coolidge soon extended her activity to other parts of the country providing free concerts by the world's best chamber-music players in Cambridge, Chicago, Berkeley and elsewhere. To encourage the formation of string quartets and piano trios, she underwrote the living expenses of the players. She brought the impeccable Pro Arte Quartet from Belgium and the dynamic Kolisch Quartet from Austria, maintaining both groups until they were able to make their own way in this country.

In 1924 Mrs. Coolidge offered to build a chamber-music hall in the Library of Congress. The offer was quickly accepted by Congress—it was the first gift of the kind to the United States Government—and a 600-seat auditorium of simple classic design and unsurpassed acoustics was constructed adjacent to the inner courtyard and fountain of the Library building. On October 28, 29 and 30, 1925—the exact dates of this year's festival, ending with Mrs. Coolidge's birthday—the Coolidge Auditorium was dedicated with the first chamber-music festival. At the same time, Mrs. Coolidge supplied an endowment of $600,000, known as the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, for "the composition and performance of music in ways which might otherwise be considered too unique or too expensive to be ordinarily undertaken . . . as an occasional possibility of giving precedence to considerations of quality over those of quantity . . . to opportunity rather than to expediency."

A model donor, Mrs. Coolidge has allowed the music division of the Library of Congress to administer the funds without interference. The achievements have been superb. Such monuments of modern music as Bartók's Fifth Quartet and Schoenberg's Third and Fourth Quartets have resulted from the Foundation's commissions. Stravinsky's "Apollon Musagète" and Copland's "Appalachian Spring" were also commissioned works, presented for the first time, in dance form, at Coolidge festivals. Three generations of American composers have shared with leading European musicians the Foundation's encouragement to create chamber works. Some of the greatest ensembles and performers of our day, from the Budapest Quartet to the harpsichordist, Ralph Kirkpatrick, the violinist, Alexander Schneider, and the violin-and-piano duo of Adolf Busch and Rudolf Serkin, have been launched on American careers at Library of Congress appearances and kept going with subsidies until they became well enough known to stand on their own feet.

The Coolidge Foundation is largely responsible for the remarkably healthy estate of chamber music throughout the country today. It has constantly demonstrated the highest standards of taste and execution, providing a model of disinterested musical sponsorship. It has done more than any other single agency or individual in the world to increase the productivity of contemporary composers in the realm of chamber music.

As things chanced, the current festival was less well stocked with arresting new works and clairvoyant performers than some of the earlier ones. Even so, the very existence of the festival was a tribute to the vision that enabled Mrs. Coolidge to turn an illiterate American chamber-music audience into an informed and appreciative one within a single generation. There was also an indirect tribute in the fact that far fewer people than formerly came great distances to the festival. Chamber music is not a rarity any more; everyone can hear it in his home town or on the radio or phonograph.

CECIL SMITH

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